FREAKS, GOLD DIGGERS, DIVAS, AND DYKES: THE SOCIOHISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENT AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S SEXUAL SCRIPTS

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The development of a sexual self is based in an understanding of the messages and meanings an individual is given about sexual roles and behaviors. To understand how meanings become scripts unique to adolescent African American women's experiences, it is important to look at how their images have been framed within a racialized and sexualized sociohistorical context. The remnants of the foundational Jezebel, Mammy, Matriarch, and Welfare Mother images of African American womanhood remain today, as exemplified by similar, yet more sexually explicit scripts that include the Freak, Gold Digger, Diva, and Dyke. This paper explores the sociohistorical development of current sexual scripts for African American female adolescents through an interpretation of Hip Hop culture documents, and the available empirical research. The relevance of these current sexual scripts to sexual identity development, sexual risk-taking behaviors, and interpersonal relationship dynamics are also addressed.

Introduction

Although there are more representations of African American females available for consumption in the mass media than ever be-

fore, the substance of these images has changed little over the past century (Gillespie 1993; Staples 1994; Weinberg and Williams 1988; Wyatt 1991). The exoticizing of African American women as wild, sexually promiscuous, and amoral continues to be normalized by descriptors that are widely circulated, accepted, and used to frame ideas about this population (hooks 1992). This impacts the ways that others interact with African American women at different phases of the lifespan. The regularity of African American women's experiences of being sexually abused—verbally, emotionally, and physically—by their peers, family and society during childhood and early adolescence has been well-documented through qualitative narratives (e.g., Beale 1970; Cleage 1993; Souljah 1994; Wallace 1978), case studies (e.g., Sterk-Elifson 1994; Villarosa 1994), therapy sessions (Wyatt 1997), historical accounts (e.g., Giddings 1984; Haley 1976; Hill Collins 2000), and in African American fiction (e.g., Haley and Stevens 1993; Morrison 1970; Naylor 1992; Shange 1977; Walker 1982). The negative sexual health statistics that characterize this population are further evidence. Across their gender cohort, African American adolescent women are at the highest risk for adolescent pregnancy, early sexual onset, HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, multiple partners, and significantly older partners (Centers for Disease Control [CDC] 2000). This is particularly troubling as this population experiences higher rates of non-voluntary first intercourse in comparison to their White and Hispanic counterparts (CDC 2000; Stephens, Willert, and Murry 2002). The pain of these experiences directly impacts their feelings about themselves as sexual beings as sexual identity lies at the core of any individual's sense of self (Morton 1991: 11).

Beliefs and attitudes about African American women's sexuality appear to be sanctioned by a culture that continues to embrace stereotypes about race and sexuality. This is made especially clear when one scans media models available for women. The good, innocent, virginal girl continues to be an idealized image of womanhood associated with white females, but unattainable for African American females. Differentiating African American adolescent women's sexuality from white women's reinforces their positions as individuals standing on the margins of society, clarifying its

boundaries (Hill Collins 2000; hooks and Manning 2000). This socially constructed image of white womanhood further relies on the continued production of the racist/sexist myth that African American women are not and do not have the capacity to be sexually innocent (Brown and McNair 1995; Hill Collins 2000; hooks 1992, 1995). These boundaries establish rules for interaction, whereby African American adolescent women learn their sexual value and role expectations within the majority white culture. Media portrayals of African American adolescent women reinforce this and provide meanings that direct interpersonal, community, and societal interactions within sexual contexts.

It is important to recognize that these representations go beyond providing a mental picture. Using the term "images" assumes that these are simply visual representations or two- dimensional symbols of people or objects. The reality is that these are more than mere pictorials that guide behaviors. We suggest it is more accurate to discuss these representations as sexual scripts. According to symbolic interaction theory, people develop a sense of their sexual selves through sexual messaging that takes place within continually changing cultural and social contexts (Longmore 1998). As such, sexuality is "socially scripted" in that it is a "part" that is learned and acted out within a social context, and different social contexts have different social scripts (Jackson 1996: 62). How an individual thinks about herself, how she relates to others, and how others think and relate to her are based on symbolic meanings that have been associated with sexuality. For African American adolescent women, the sexual scripts available to them rely on negative stereotypes that have changed little over the past century (Hill Collins 2000; Staples 1994; Wyatt 1997). It is important to examine the influence of these scripts on sexual behavioral outcomes as activating a stereotypes usually leads people to behave in stereotype-consistent ways (Wheeler and Petty 2001).

Clearly examining how racial and gender stereotypes, along with sociohistorical realities, contextualize these scripts is important for understanding the development of sexual identity development and sexual decision-making processes of this population. To understand how these scripts are relevant to African American adolescent

women's experiences, three questions must be asked: 1) What roles are made available with these scripts, 2) what is the context of these scripts, and 3) how do these scripts influence the sexual development outcomes and interpersonal experiences of this population? To answer these questions, this paper will explore the cultural and social factors that aid in the creation and development of African American women's sexualized images into sexual scripts. To frame this investigation, the foundational Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Mother, and Matriarch images' production and use in American culture will be reviewed. Further, how these four images have become the foundation for the current Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother, and Baby Mama sexual scripts will be explored through an interpretation of narrative documents from Hip Hop culture, oral traditions, and the limited empirical research that is available. A review of these scripts' influence on relationships with peers, potential partners, and broader society will be examined in the context of sexual identity development.

Foundational Images

To understand how sexual scripts have been written for young African American women, it is important to explore the sociohistorical interpretations that have been used to define their sexual behaviors and experiences. Traditionally, women of African descent were viewed through a social Darwinist lens of human development. Social Darwinism is based on the survival of the fittest model, stating that the African "race" is the lowest on the hierarchy of humans in terms of intelligence, health, civility, and basic reasoning (Krieger and Fee 1996). Essentially, those of African descent are presumed closer to the animal kingdom than to the highest living beings, white males of European descent (Diamond 2001; Malevure 2001; Tattersall 2001).

Darwinist perspectives shaped the methodological approaches of Georges Cuvier and Henri de Blainville, the authors of one of the earliest studies of African women's sexuality. Comparative anatomists by trade, these scientists are infamous for their work examining the Hottentot Venus during the early nineteenth century. The

Hottentot Venus, who was baptized Sarah Bartmann and also known as Saartjie, was a member of the Hottentot tribe from the Cape of Africa. In 1810, the eighteen-year-old was persuaded to leave Cape Town by a French ship's doctor who told her that she could make a fortune displaying herself to European crowds fascinated by the tales of the exotic, animalistic body of African women (Giddings 1995). During her "performances" she was displayed partially nude, with a skin colored loincloth as her only coverage (Gould 1985). Eyewitness accounts report that people would poke at her buttocks to see if they were the real (Fausto-Sterling 1995). Though Sarah reportedly did not like being seen semi-nude or touched, and continuously refused Cuvier's requests to examine her genitals, she was examined by zoologists and physiologists in 1815 for three days in Paris (Fausto- Sterling 1995). Her death in 1816 gave Cuvier the opportunity to claim her body for science and dissection.[1] He focused on various parts of her sexual anatomy—breasts, the presence of a hymen, the structure of the vaginal canal, and placement of the urethral opening—as he compared her with orangutans and their mating habits (Giddings 1995).

Drawing on his Darwinist biases and expertise in zoology, Cuvier made interpretations that became the basis of sexual scripts for women of African descent—primitive, wild, sexually uninhibited, and exotic (Fausto-Sterling 1995). Thus, Sarah became the bedrock of African female sexuality, reinforcing the exotic, animal image that separated people of African descent from whites. This belief system remained instrumental across the Atlantic as the New World began developing its own cultural norms. The image of the sexually exotic African woman was extremely important for the creation and maintenance of the political, economic, and social structure of America, particularly during slavery. While African American women were subject to the same female expectations as white women (i.e., to fulfill sexual needs of men, to reproduce and provide moral guidance for their respective communities), the meanings and expectations of these roles were moderated differently on the basis of women's race (Morton 1991). To reflect this reality four images emerged—the Jezebel, Mammy, Matriarch, and Welfare Mother (Hill Collins 2000). These became the foundation for

framing African American women's sexuality through the eyes of the wider culture, the African American community and, eventually, through which African American women themselves came to understand their position in American society.

The Jezebel

The Jezebel is best described as a young, exotic, promiscuous, over-sexed woman who uses sexuality to get attention, love, and material goods (Hill Collins 2000; Morton 1991). Portrayed as having light skin, long hair, and a shapely body, the Jezebel was sometimes referred to as a mulatto or half-breed (note the highly animalistic terms). Myths of their insatiable sexual appetite were used to justify the rape of slave women by their masters (Hill Collins 2000; Villarosa 1994). American society accepted the idea that these African American women seduced their masters as they strove to satisfy their own animalistic desires for sex (Hill Collins 2000; Villarosa 1994). These Jezebels were painted as wanting to please men; only by doing this would they achieve both sexual gratification and personal satisfaction. The reality was that the Jezebel was a sexually abused African American woman used to fulfill the masters' sexual and economic needs. The children she bore from these rapes added to his slave stock, as the legal system did not recognize that slave women could be raped and decreed that the children born from these unions gained the same status as their mother (Blassingame 1979; Davis 1983; Scales-Trent 1993).

The Mammy

In direct contradiction to the Jezebel is the Mammy image. The Mammy portrayed the African American female slave or domestic servant as being nurturing toward the White family, an idea reinforced by a belief that she put her master's family's needs before her own family's.[2] This image is one of an asexual being, on both physical and emotional levels (Hill Collins 2000; Morton 1991). Physically, the Mammy is portrayed as an overweight, dark-skinned woman with very African features. She is not considered attractive

by Western standards, and, thus, was not considered attractive to white male desires. The mythical figure of the non-threatening, desexed Mammy allowed African American women to serve as nannies, cooks, and other domestic positions intimate to the masters' families without the fear that they may contaminate the household with immoral thoughts or behaviors (Abdullah 1998). At the same time, however, many African American women who worked as servants in White households were being sexually assaulted by their employers (Hill Collins 2000), indicating that the myth of the Mammy was more politically expedient than statistically accurate. Essentially, the Mammy image preserved the convenient script of the happy, docile, Black female servant during a period when Black women were transitioning from unpaid house slaves to paid domestic workers. The dismantling of slavery meant that African American women were no longer so directly tied into the functioning of White families in the private sphere. New images emerged to project how the new for-pay domestic service created an employer/employee dynamic (Giddings 1984; Hill Collins 2000).

The Welfare Mother

This shifting of the relationship with the White family unit from the private to public sphere led to African American women being more openly critiqued within economic, political, and social contexts that represented White America's needs and desires (Giddings 1984; Lerner 1972). The next significant image to emerge was the Welfare Mother. This image reinforced the perception that African American women breed children uncontrollably and these "unwanted" offspring become an eventual burden on society (Hill Collins 2000; Solinger 1992; Wallace 1978). According to the script, the Welfare Mother lazily collects government checks and reproduces poverty by passing on her pathologies to her many children (Sklar 1995). This image was developed as a response to middle-class families' outcries against African American women's receipt of monetary support from the government in the form of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), assistance originally intended for middle-class White women widowed by war (Sklar

1995; Solinger 1992). In the postwar years, particularly by the 1950's, taxes were becoming perceived as an unfair load that the White, middle-class families were carrying; the fact that they were collected to help pay for social services, particularly AFDC, helped fuel this anger (Solinger 1992).

The Matriarch

In the mid-1960's, the government was again instrumental in reinforcing another image of the African American woman that reflected the needs and beliefs of the dominant culture—the controlling, emasculating Matriarch. Then Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan popularized this image when he was commissioned by the federal government to explore the African American experience in response to rising discord and power movements of the period. Through his actual use of the term "matriarch," Moynihan essentially presented African American women as emasculating, controlling, and contemptuous females who did not need a man beyond using his seed for childbearing (Bond 1970; Ransby and Matthews 1995; Wallace 1978). Moynihan's 1965 fact-finding report stated that the African American experience was problematized by a family structure that was under the sexual controls of its women (Rainwater and Yancey 1967). Focusing on female centered households, the report stated that this familial structure did not provide African American men with the emotional or psychological models and tools they needed to become productive members in American society. African American women were portrayed as holding the power within the familial unit, and using their sexuality as a means to dominate, and gain control both within their homes and larger society.

Although these four foundational images project unique sexualized characteristics of African American women, they all reflect dominant, male cultural beliefs about females and African American's sexuality. By meshing smoothly with systems of race, class, and gender oppression, they provide effective ideological justifications for racial oppression, the politics of gender subordination, and the economic exploitation inherent in capitalist econo-

mies (Hill Collins 2000). Further, these images help differentiate African American women's identity and sexual roles from their peers' cross-culturally. Placing African American women at one end of a sexual continuum that validates the innocence of white womanhood is central in these meanings. Finally, by utilizing these images, adversarial relationships between African American males and females are fostered.

Today's Sexual Scripts

While the foundational Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Mother, and Matriarch images continue to inform ideas about African American women's sexuality, there have been developments that are reflective of current political, economic, and social changes. The ghosts of the four lingering images have influenced the creation and maintenance of today's three-dimensional sexual scripts that actual female icons African American youth culture have come to embrace and reflect through everyday discourse. From these contexts have emerged eight scripts—the Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother, and Baby Mama.

What brought about the creation and need for these new sexual scripts? We suggest several interrelated factors, all of which have their origins in social and cultural conditions emerging after World War II. The first is the emergence of television as a common representational arena for Whites and African Americans. Television achieved ascendancy just as desegregation was becoming one of the defining movements of the twenty-first century. As such, the new (post-desegregation) race relations were both negotiated and represented on television in both news and entertainment programming. Coinciding with the institutionalization of television within U.S. culture was the emergence of rock-n-roll music. This sweeping vernacular art form, which drew major impetus from African American culture, placed African Americans in the paradoxical position of defining American cool at the same time they were exploited by the music industry for financial gain and repressed by discrimination in the wider society. The result of these negotiations was to open portals for African American entry into the white-con-

trolled media, but only along lines which could be symbolically reconciled with White mainstream expectations. Thus, those select few African American women who "made it" into these media were often fashioned after pre-existing images: the provocative Jezebel, the obsequious Mammy, the disagreeable Sapphire, the pathetic Welfare Mother, or the domineering Matriarch. At the same time, African Americans were contesting these representations both within the mainstream and outside it. Both the Civil Rights and the Black Power movements impacted media representations of Black people as well as the relations between White media owners, African American producers, and African American artists, and the sensibilities and tastes of the media-consuming public. These factors collectively set the stage for the transfer of the predominance of symbolic control from the White mainstream to the African American community.

As evidence of this, we see new sexual scripts that are embedded within an African American, youth-developed culture known as Hip Hop. Hip Hop is an African American urban-based culture of creativity and expression that specifically expresses adolescents' concerns, beliefs, and worldview. The most recognized genre of the culture to broader society is rap music, which has been referred to as "the CNN of young Black America" (Chuck D. 2001). Insiders to Hip Hop culture know, however, that it encompasses a deeper understanding of cultural expressions, such as body language (e.g., Frith 1996), language usage (e.g., Smitherman 1997), clothing styles (e.g., Kim 2001), value and belief systems (e.g., Baker 1992), racial/ethnic identity (e.g., Ro 1996; Rose 1992; Rubio 1993), and general behavioral expectations (e.g., Henderson 1996; Venable 2001), than rap music can convey alone. Unlike musical forms in the African American communities of the past, this youth-driven African American culture is the first that does not have cross-generational involvement. Previous African American music genres could be enjoyed by everyone in the African American community, from the oldest grandmother to the young toddler (Smitherman 1997). However, Hip Hop culture's music is reflective of a very specific African American youth experience that began in the early 1980s.[3] To express African American youth's anger and fears about

their present lives and unknown futures, Hip Hop developed a musical forum to express these feelings (Ransby and Matthews 1995; Smitherman 1977; Williams 1992).

Although rap music began as an underground and often highly political art form, it was quickly appropriated and depoliticized within the prevailing business climate of the 1980s. For example, although those visible at the forefront of Hip Hop are African American, 70 percent of those consuming the music and other artifacts of Hip Hop culture are White, with the majority of money fueling the industry coming from White-owned corporations (Chuck D 2001; Cutler 1999; Henderson 1996; Wahl 1999). The Hip Hop culture that has emerged around these developments thus retained the contradictory underpinnings represented by both the political and materialistic aspects of the rap music venture. Caught in the fray were the images of young African American women whose relation to both the White mainstream and the emerging Hip Hop culture were being redefined and renegotiated. These new relationships between African American women, the music industry, the White mainstream, and Black youth culture were defined and shaped by neocolonialism. Specifically, the African American female body and its attendant sexuality was recolonized by a new media elite that might include White or African American males or females in positions of power. What cannot be overlooked, however, is how African American women as a group retained a dialogical relationship with the music industry and the larger culture and thus vitally shaped the discourse about themselves and their sexuality. Thus, to characterize African American women as mere victims of a neocolonizing process would be to overstate their lack of agency. What is particularly unique about the contemporary upshot of these developments is the fact that African American youth, including young African American women, now dominate the construction of their own cultural symbology. Yet, the self-definitions produced by this group are, sadly, far from devoid of the remnants of racism and sexism.

To witness these scripts in action, one only needs to turn on their television, particularly music video programming. Music videos have emerged as some of the most popular genre of television pro-

gramming among adolescents, with Hip Hop as the most popular genre of music shown on Black Entertainment Television, MTV, and the Box. Through clothing, camera address, and visual images, females in Hip Hop videos are depicted as having both great sexual power and sexual desires (Brown 2000; Roberts 1996). The projected sexual scripts not only work to reinforce stereotypical beliefs of viewers living in predominately White communities who have little contact with members of other racial or ethnic groups (Heaton and Wilson 1995), but also shape how African American adolescent women view themselves.

This is because television shapes who and what adolescents want to be, providing them with guidelines for behavior and self-concept development (Botta 2000). In particular, viewers consistently pay more attention to those on the screen that look like themselves, whether the distinguishing characteristic is race or gender (Comstock and Scharrer 1999). Makkar and Strube (1995) found that African American adolescents are more likely to make comparisons with their cohort on television; thus the projected scripts provide a means to gauge how they measure up (Botta 2000; Comstock and Scharrer 1999). Research has shown that television, particularly entertainment programming, is the most important source of information and socialization for African American adolescents (Comstock and Scharrer 1999; Hazel-Ford Tess and Sarvela 1992). It has also been found that when comparing by race and gender, African Americans and women spend the greatest amount of time watching television. African American adolescents' top three reasons for watching television are because it is enjoyable, it is entertaining, and it keeps them aware (Albarran and Umphrey 1993). From this forum, universal understandings of African American women's sexual scripts reached a mass audience, framing their sexual identity choices in a no-win situation. As Hip Hop feminist Tara Roberts explains, "If you are a woman in hip hop you are either a hard bitch who will kill for her man, or you're a fly bitch who can sex up her man, or you're a fucked-up lesbian" (Roberts and Ulen 2000).

Before proceeding to describe the contemporary scripts in more detail, it is important to note that historical connections exist be-

tween these current scripts and the foundational Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Mother, and Matriarch images. That is, resemblances to the four foundational images described above can be found in the eight contemporary scripts to be described below and these resemblances are traceable to transmutations in the political status and cultural meaning of Black womanhood over time. In general, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the old images and the new scripts; the connections are more complex. A fuller explication of these connections will be presented as each contemporary script is described in turn.

The Diva

Originally, the name Diva was used to describe an operatic prima donna; it is an Italian word derived from the Latin term for goddess or the female equivalent of a god. Recognizing this, one can understand why today's African American adolescent female Divas are viewed as "having an attitude," where they see themselves as someone to be worshiped and adored. Divas surround themselves with people that will do this, not caring about the substance of these relationships or reasons for this attention. It is the attention they receive that is important. As a result, Divas compete against other Divas to make sure they remain at the center of everyone's focus.

It is interesting to note that the Diva script is embedded within a specific class framework. This is evident through the Divas' apparent willingness to pour money into self-maintenance. They are characterized as being pretty in the traditional sense—long, straightened hair, not too dark skinned, having a slender build, being a tad immodest but not wearing skimpy clothing. These Divas fit the picture of well-behaved women who have made it. As such, Divas are described in Hip Hop culture as being high-maintenance; they require a number of material resources to remain happy and retain their social status. Divas invest in themselves because they see their external appearance and goods as valuable commodities. Their hair is always perfectly coifed, nails and toes perfectly manicured, clothing is top of the line (but never over the top). Because Divas are often curvaceous, light-skinned women with long hair, they could

be described as "toned-down" versions of the foundational Jezebel image. R and B singers Destiny's Child and Brandy have all been promoted as Divas. It is important to note that female rapper artists, who are associated with a more "street" musical genre of Hip Hop culture, are rarely thought of as Divas. This is because the projection of a certain class status plays an important role in defining this script. For example, only once "street" or "ghetto girl" artists like Mary J. Blige and rappers Salt and Pepa's images became more mainstream, polished, feminine, and well-maintained did they move into Diva status.

Divas' sexuality has been described as sultry or tempting, but never explicit. Their sexuality is obvious through their seductive walk, glances, body shaping outfits, and totally coifed appearance. Divas' choice to not make overtly sexual overtures is also reflective of middle-class beliefs about women's sexual role behaviors. In studies of African American women's sexuality and relationship patterns, Sterk-Elifson (1994) and Binion (1990) both found that middle-class women are less likely to endorse and acknowledge the importance of women's assertiveness in approaching men. Instead, these women never openly push themselves on males, but make sure they are noticed. They are careful to cultivate this image of being attractive but unattainable.

Another distinguishing feature of the middle-class values of the Diva is an achievement of a certain level of their material success. This is important as middle class women have been socialized to recognize that relationships with African American males are not usually a means for financial upward mobility (Higginbotham and Weber 1995). "Shoes on my feet, I bought it; clothes I'm wearin', I bought it; rock I'm rocking, I bought it, cause I depend on me," sing the media's current Diva darlings, Destiny's Child, in their song "Independent Women, Part 1" (2001). Salt and Pepa had a song similarly titled "Independent" (1991) where they stated, "Woman and I am independent; I make my own money, so do not tell me how to spend it; cuz you need me, and I do not need you." However, male artists Sporty Theivez called into question how independent these Divas really were when they responded to Destiny's Child with "Independent Men, Part 1" (2001) by pointing out "First

you want your bills paid, now she's independent—sounds more like these chicks is more inconsistent."

This points out the conflicting messages associated with the Diva. She is able to take care of herself, yet wants a man to give her more. Not seeking material goods, the Diva selects men based on how their achievements can enhance what she already has. His social standing must help the Diva gain greater awe, envy, and attention as what being associated with him signifies not only to the Diva herself, but also how it looks to those around her that is important. Some may equate a rise in status with riding in his fully loaded car, gaining VIP access to clubs, or receiving preferred treatment in restaurants. Others may be attracted to the attention she receives for being the girlfriend of a successful music artist, professional athlete, most attractive man in the town, or other figure who is respected by her peers. Salt and Pepa exemplified this in "Whatta Man" (1993) when they explained…

> My man is smooth like Barry [White], and his voice got bass
> A body like Arnold with a Denzel [Washington] face
> He's smart like a doctor with a real good rep
> And when he comes home he's relaxed with Pep
> He always got a gift for me every time I see him
> A lot of snot-nosed ex-flames couldn't be him
> He never ran a corny line once to me yet
> So I give him stuff that he'll never forget.

She is looking for a partner who supports and bolsters her image and social status, and is willing to work for that. Although she would prefer finding a long term stable partner, the Diva is willing to trade this off for the attention that a less committed but higher status partner may offer.

Gold Digger

Where trading social status for sex describes the Diva, it is the Gold Digger who trades sex for a harder currency. A Gold Digger is a woman who explicitly seeks material and economic rewards above all else, and is willing to trade sex for it. Sex is her commodity because it is the only valuable thing she has in society. Gold

Diggers are not traditionally viewed as being successful in educational, employment, or other economic spheres. Instead, the Gold Diggers' plan is to "toss them titties around, shake that ass, make that money" (Smith 1999). Also known as "pigeons" or "hoochie mamas," Gold Diggers seem to have the most obvious awareness that sex is their most powerful commodity. Sex may be used to barter for basic needs such as a bag of groceries, getting rent paid, or making sure their lights do not get turned off. However, manicures and pedicures, new clothing, vacations, or having a car note paid are also possible wants that Gold Diggers may be willing to trade sex to get.

Clearly, elements of the hypersexual Jezebel and the financially dependent Welfare Mother are evident; the sex for sale principle underlying these two foundational images is also the basis for the Gold Digger worldview. The sexual links to poverty and its relevance to survival are clear. Their lives have been called "ghetto fabulous," where they are socially embedded in a culture of poverty, yet have the economic means to procure middle-class goods. The song "Project Chick" (2001) by male rappers Big Tymers discusses how their financial means can entice a Gold Digger to give up and put out:

> When I come through in a Rolls Royce, leave them with no choice
> but to hop up in it an just let me make they throat moist
> Ruby red and vodka it just carry a nigga
> Give me three minutes maybe four she be wantin' to marry a nigga.

The Gold Digger will supposedly resort to any and all sexual means to gain whatever financial rewards she wants or needs, seeing men as stepping stones to provide for short-term needs. Short-term is not defined so much by a length of time, but rather a mind set whereby the male is good for as long as he can meet the Gold Digger's demands. She takes whatever she can, and when the well runs dry, the Gold Digger is history. "You know I gotta keep tricks up the sleeve, leav'em bankrupt with blue balls till the dick bleed," explained female rapper Amil when talking about how she uses men to get money in her song "All Money is Legal" (2000). Thus, Gold Diggers are depicted as purposefully selecting male partners

based on the lifestyle or affluence that they can provide. A man and a dollar sign are seen as being one and the same as the Gold Digger views the man's worth according to the balance of a his bank accounts or the cash in his pocket. As long as the money is available, the Gold Digger will make herself available. Rapper Trina explained the mindset in "Da Baddest Bitch" (2000):

> I'm representin' for the bitches, all eyes on your riches.
> No time for the little dicks, you see the bigger the dick.
> The bigger the bank, the bigger the Benz,
> the better the chance to get close to his rich friends.
> I'm going after the big man. G-string make his dick stand.
> Make it quick then slow head by the night stand.
> Like lightning I wanna nigga with a wedding ring.
> Bank accounts in the Philippines. Blank note to take everything.

One might question why a man would get mixed up with a Gold Digger. Some would argue that the men never saw it coming. Actress Robin Givens gained notoriety as the ultimate Gold Digger through her marriage to Heavyweight Champion Mike Tyson (Jones 1994). Despite his documented history of both physical and sexual abuse, she was accused of using this icon of African American machismo, then leaving him once she gained the fame and financial goals she desired. "Now you look booty like that bum Miss Givins," rapped L.L. Cool J in his public decry against her gold digging of the boxing legend Mike Tyson in "Jingling Baby" (1990). His support of Tyson was reflective of many African American males' responses: Givens' presumed manipulation of him for money was not acceptable (Niels Heller 1995; O'Connor 2001). She was portrayed in the media as having pretended to love the heavyweight champ to access his money and fame, when he supposedly didn't even see it coming.

Another argument is that men want women they can buy, presumably so they can control them (Jones 1994). If they lose the control, they just cut off the cash. What is lost is never love, friendship, or a healthy relationship. Gold Digger scripts most obviously show women as engaging in sex for personal gain and using men. That is why it is one of the most resented scripts in African American culture by both males and females. Money and sex are hot

commodities, and women are not supposed to have both. Still, if a woman decides to forego financial gains and is satisfied with only sex, she moves into another sexual script—the Freak.

Freak

In his 1981 funk classic "Super Freak," Rick James described a woman who is "a very kinky girl—the kind you don't take home to mother." A Freak is sexually aggressive and wild, a woman we all know and yet supposedly do not want to. She is seen as a woman who simply loves to have sex without any emotional attachment. Explained one admitted Freak:

> I wasn't looking for no money. I was looking for a good time, a respectable evening, some food. All my friends be like, "You ain't got no money from that nigga?" He ain't my man! I don't look for nothing from dating guys. Like Lil' Kim say, "Some girls fuck for money, I fuck to come." (Dobie 2001, 202)

Slut, ho, chickenhead, hood rat, floozy—these are all different names for the same woman: the Freak. Similar to the sexually insatiable Jezebel, Freaks are essentially viewed as having no sexual inhibitions or hang-ups. Sex in any place, any position, and with any person (or number of people) characterize the Freak. She participates in high-risk sexual activities viewed as outside conventional behaviors, and enjoys testing the limits of what is considered morally acceptable (Cleage 1993). Lil' Kim detailed in "How Many Licks" (2000) the kinds of exploits Freaks are assumed to engage in:

> Dan, my nigga from Down South,
> Used to like me to spank him and cum in his mouth.
> And Tony he was Italian; he didn't give a fuck.
> That's what I liked about him.
> He ate my pussy from dark till the morning,
> And called his girl up and told her we was boning.
> Puerto Rican papi, he used to be Deacon.
> But now he be sucking me off on the weekend.
> And this black dude I called King Kong.
> He had a big ass dick and a hurricane tongue.

Freaks use sex as a means of gaining sexual control over their partners while fulfilling their own insatiable physical needs. A woman can be an everyday Freak, whereby she dresses in tight clothing, short skirts, and walks with a strut in the mall; often such women are assumed to be strippers. Or she can be an undercover Freak, as was sung about in Whoudini's rap classic "The Freaks Come Out at Night" (1984). These are the women who by day project the good girl image, but in a darkened club or under the sheets engage in "unconventional" sexual games for personal physical pleasure. The Freak gains currency against a backdrop which holds that only if a woman is in an established and committed relationship is it okay for her to be sexually aggressive, and then only when her partner desires it (Cleage 1993). Anything outside this context is problematic, labeling the women a Freak, available for all comers and takers.

Lil' Kim and Foxy Brown have come to be the most well-known representatives of the Freak script through their stage personaes' style, language, and posturing. Foxy Brown has been described as "a girl who looks at her lips, her teeth, her waist, her ass, her legs, her breasts, and sees what they are to people, what men have always responded to" (Smith 1999: 114). But what is that response? "In airports and on street corners, men grab at Foxy [Brown], and sisters roll their eyes in disgust" (Burford and Farley 1999: 72). Women's reactions stem from two standpoints: a sense of competition, and fears of the relevance to their own unexplored or unexpressed sexuality. On one hand, Freaks are fascinating to other women: "Even when you find Lil' Kim at her most outrageous, you find yourself tempted to stay tuned to see how she's going to top this," explained one fan (Burt-Murray 2000: 42). The sense of sexual power that these women express is attractive, as this hypersexual script challenges the "good girl" model of sexual behaviors that African American women have been taught by their parents (Fullilove et al. 1993; Windham 1995; Wyatt 1997). The Freak is a bad girl who gains male attention, appears empowered, and is obviously sexually satisfied. However, admitting this attraction or associating oneself with the Freak is undesirable. For example, Diva singer Brandy criticized Foxy Brown's explicit lewdness, profan-

ity, and high-risk lifestyle image (Burford and Farley 1999: 133). The common fear is finding truth in the saying that birds of a feather flock together; it is hard to erase the Freak label once a woman has been identified or associated with the script (Wyatt 1997).

Despite the negative connotations associated with the script, men still seek out Freaks. Men are most comfortable with this hypersexual image, but have little respect for it. Freaks are fallen, unrespectable women with whom males do not enter into long-term relationships. There is the belief that what a Freak does with one man, she probably does with anyone else, as evidenced in the song "How Many Licks." Thus, males may gain physical satisfaction by having sex with a Freak, but do not have bragging rights of having done something (or someone) unique.

Critics of this script have put forth some interesting questions. Are Freaks the subversive manipulators or the ones being manipulated? Are they exploitative in their own right, or complicit in their own exploitation (Marriott 2000)? On one hand, the Freak comes across as a sexually aware woman who is comfortable with her own sexuality; she derives a personal strength from her empowered sexuality. On the other hand, the Freak appears to be following patriarchal scripts reflecting male defined desires of women's sexuality. Is or should sex be her only major site of power? Interestingly, Hip Hop culture has the mechanisms to accommodate those that seek power outside the sexual realm and reject male controls. However, understanding the power of sex and refusing to follow a sexual script that includes male desires places a woman "in danger" of becoming a Dyke.

Dyke

Where Freaks have sex with other women and allow men to watch or join in, Dykes do not let men have any role in their sexual interactions (Good and Marriott 1997). Women who too decisively resist sexual overtures are labeled as Dykes. They may also be called a Butch, Fish, or Bulldagger, all terms traditionally used negatively to describe women who have sex with women. Within this frame, heterosexuality is viewed as the natural emotional and sen-

sual inclination for women, and those who go against this are seen as deviant, pathological, or as emotionally and sensually deprived (Pharr and Raymond 1997; Rich 1978). There is a general assumption that women are innately sexually oriented only toward men and that the Dykes are simply acting out a bitterness toward men by denying them sex (Rich 1978). As a result, they start appearing mannish, rejecting being a victimized woman and becoming a defective man (Hill Collins 2000).

There is a presupposition that Dykes' sexual pleasure is derived from rejecting men and has nothing to do with love, despite research showing African American women involved with women cite love, emotional support, and nurturance as the motivating factors for their choice in relationships (Wyatt 1997). There is also a belief that Dykes have been badly hurt either emotionally or physically by a man, or have not experienced "good" sex with a man (Pharr and Raymond 1997; Souljah 1994; Villarosa 1994). These Dykes are trying to strike back at males, and hurt them by taking away whatever arenas they control or powers they possess. After a girl rejected his sexual advances, Ice Cube concluded that the "dumbass hooker ain't nuttin' but a dyke" in the NWA hit "Straight Outta Compton" (1989). Since she is not interested in the male penis, the Dyke undermines males' sexual control over her (Clarke 1981). Essentially, its underlying meaning stems from the idea that women who embrace seemingly "masculine" or "male" qualities are also trying to stand up to and usurp the male sexuality. In one of the first songs to openly discuss lesbians, Luke Campbell presented the Dyke as a threat to the "natural order" of the male/female dynamic in "Bulldagger Stole My Bitch" (1991):

I asked her name, the bitch said Shirley
I asked her for some pussy, she said "I like girlies."
"What that mean, hoe, that I can't have it?"
She said, "Nigga, recognize I'm a female faggot!"

I hate bulldaggin' hoes with a passion
You motherfuckin' right a nigga gave bashin'
You bitches need to get that gay shit off your mind
Suckin' 'em up, that's sick, I dick 'em down at night.

Despite the fact that the Dyke is not a feminine or sexually wild script like that of the Freak, she is not viewed as sexless. Rather, her sexuality is stereotyped as repulsive, abnormal, and contrary to the strengthening of the African American community as whole. In Hip Hop culture, artists know that declaring one's sexual identity—if it's not a typical straight one—is a huge personal decision that can have social and political, as well as financial/career, repercussions (Coker 1999; Venable 2001). There is a resistance in the African American community to discussing racial oppression within the same context of sexual oppression for fear that addressing homophobia will dilute efforts to address racism (Gomez and Smith 1994; Jordan 1993). Same-sex relationships go against the powerful religious teachings preached in African American churches (Brown Douglas 1999; Dyson 2001; Villarosa 1994). In addition, homosexuality has been traditionally viewed as a "white thing," meaning those who engage in same sex relationships are rejecting African American values, beliefs, and the culture as a whole (Boykin 1996; Gomez and Smith 1994; Kendall 2001; Souljah 1994). These combined negative attitudes reinforce and support intolerance toward the Dyke script. Further, they work to discredit those who choose or have been labeled with this script.

Dyke scripts are most commonly applied when males are confronted by what appears to be a self-determined and in-control woman, no matter what her real sexual orientation is. This stems from African American males' belief that a woman's success is a direct attack on them (Hill Collins 2000). An example is rapper and actress Queen Latifah. She blew up the Hip Hop scene with her 1989 song "Ladies First," which made statements like "they see a woman standing up on her own two, sloppy slouching is something I won't do; some think that we can't flow, stereotypes, they got to go." Currently a powerful businesswoman, author, and artist in her own right, unsubstantiated rumors circulate that she is a Dyke as she continues to be successful on what has traditionally been viewed as men's turf. Explained male rapper/producer Heavy D, "Latifah's tough, she's a tough bitch, period, point blank. She'll play basketball and whip a nigger's ass, so niggers automatically go, 'She must be a Dyke'" (Chambers and Morgan 1992: 118).

Her apparent lack of need for a male involvement in her success or self-definition exemplifies the Dyke script's grounding within the asexual Mammy and emasculating Matriarch images. Clearly, the tensions around this script are about the strength that these women are able to project without incorporating males' sexual desires. More specifically, it is because the strength is not drawn from their sexuality, the normalized and expected site of African American adolescent women's power.

Gangster Bitch

Like the Dyke, another script that embodies aggression, emotional strength, and active participation in Hip Hop culture is the Gangster Bitch. The term "gangster" reflects the culture in which they operate, while "bitch" is used to label their aggressive and self-sufficient attitude (Mitchelle 1999). Self-described Gangster Bitch Boss rapped that she is "nothin' but pussy with an attitude" in "Mia Sista Izza Bitch" (1992). However, unlike the Dyke, Gangster Bitches do not challenge the pervasive patriarchy or sexism. In fact, they indicate this through the valuing of men as partners in their struggle for daily survival in urban American culture. These are women who live in the same squalid, poverty-stricken, drug-infested, violent environments that has traditionally focused on the "endangered black male" in popular imagination for the past decade (hampton 2000).

> They are not tortured by dreams of upward mobility and have a realistic view of their chances of success in society. They watch television specials about the rich and famous but understand that, short of a win on the numbers, those lifestyles are extravagant dreams....Like the boys in their neighborhood, they enjoy excitement and trouble, which break the monotony of a life in which little attention is given to the future. (Campbell 1991)

In the documentary film Gangtress, singer Mary J. Blige described this kind of woman as " a survivor, someone who knows how to live—it doesn't matter what [her] hustle is" (hampton 2000). Statistics support this script's foundation in a culture of poverty and survival. Campbell's (1991) research on females who engaged in

this street culture found that they more often came from broken homes, lived in households where no one was employed, witnessed their mothers being beaten by fathers, experienced a death in their family during childhood, grew up with a heroin addict in the home, or saw a member of their household arrested. A third reported that a family member had made sexual advances toward them. These continuous insults and injuries have led Gangster Bitches to harden and stop feeling pain (Villarosa 2002). "The way I felt was, no one cared about me and so I wasn't going to care about them," a woman in this lifestyle explained. "That's why I could watch somebody cry, plead, bleed, and it wouldn't touch me" (Robotham 1998). Gangster Bitches are often even wary of engaging in relationships with other women, seeing friendships as another potential relationship that will cause pain (Campbell 1991).[4]

Interestingly, this attitude does not necessarily extend to their associations with males. "Ride or Die" is a popular motto used to describe these relationships, whereby they are willing to support their males under any conditions, no matter what the possible outcome. When reflecting on his relationship with one woman, a member of the Crips said her willingness to not be scared of him and his lifestyle was important (Jah and Shah'Keyah 1997). Her willingness to accept and become part of his lifestyle makes her the perfect friend that you can have sex with. Together, they are looking to overcome their day-to-day struggles and survive in the system in which they live. In his chart-topping "Gangsta Bitch" (1993), rapper Apache announced his need for the kind of woman who lives like he does:

> Strapped but loveable, hateful but huggable
> Always in trouble and definitely fuckable
> See her now, booms and pounds, she's mine friend
> Puff'n on a blunt, sippin' on a Heineken
> She's got charm, a firearm to match mine
> Goin' to the movies packin' his and hers nine's
> Wearing Cartier and leather, mutherfuck the weather
> On Valentines Day, doin' stick ups together

The males enjoy that this script embraces their toasts of toughness, cold-bloodedness, and unfeeling toward the world that has

become admirable in Hip Hop culture (McCall 1997). The males respect these women who will fight and be aggressive, not those who can only have sex. If they are in a fight, they want fighting women backing them; their ability to have sex is secondary to their survival (Robotham 1998). Clearly, the combination of the Sapphire's tough support for her people and the Matriarch's emasculating controls is clearly evident in the Gangster Bitch script.

Most paramount is Gangster Bitches' active assistance in their male peers' or partners' attempts to be successful in urban street life. These women provide alibis, take the blame for crimes, and carry illicit substances or weapons in their body cavities or clothing. Explained Redman in his song "Dat B***h" (2001), "When I'm on the run, she'll give me a gun, hide me out at her mama's house." More commonly, however, they use sex (Campbell 1991; Sanchez Jankowski 1991). These women can be used to distract or lure an opponent into a dangerous situation and to spy or gather information via sexual relationships with rival males. Sexuality, then, not only becomes a tool to please males, but to prove their loyalty to them. Clearly, Gangster Bitches are not simply groupies, or simply a sexual object. They are not expecting long-term love, and have become emotionally hardened enough to know that sex is first and foremost a means to release stress and feel good for that moment. The need for this release can come at any time and the Gangster Bitch is willing to provide it on demand. "Gotta keep the cat smooth so when the nigga ask for the pussy it's good and wet," explained Eve in her song "Gangsta Bitches" (2001). Similarly, in Da Brat's "That's What I'm Looking for" (2000), she states, "I like a thug in my life to get by; that's why I spit shine the pussy," reinforcing the centrality of sex in Gangster Bitches' relationships with men in her life.

In exchange, Gangster Bitches also earn a degree of protection from the males. MC Lyte discussed this mutual loyalty in "Ruffneck" (1993) when she rapped "All I gotta do is beep him 911 and he'll be there; right by my side with his ruffneck tactics, ruffneck attitude, the ruffneck bastard." Many males follow the unwritten code prohibiting the harassment, or physical and sexual abuse, of a female who has been "down" for another friend or themselves (Hunt

and Joe-Laidler 2001; Sanchez Jankowski 1991). Still, these perks come with a price. Relationship violence is usual. Although these women are expected to not fear fighting back, there is an unwritten rule that they cannot overtake the male. To do so could lead to a serious beating or even death. Further, the males may use violence to monitor or control the Gangster Bitch's behavior. These experiences suggest a complex relationship in which the girls simultaneously are protected from potentially aggressive situations, but are also open to sexual victimization by their protectors.

Sister Savior

The Sister Savior and Earth Mother are two unique scripts available to African American women in that they do not provide space for male-defined involvement. This does not mean that they are asexual, rather the sources of their decision-making processes are external to the Hip Hop culture. Further, unlike the Dyke who rejects male sexual desires, the nexus of control for Sister Saviors' and Earth Mothers' sexuality is located on a higher plane. The Earth Mothers' sexuality is based in a spiritual, communal framework, while the Sister Savior is grounded in the African American church. However, the difference between the meaning of spirituality and religion is an important distinction for understanding these two sexual scripts.

The definitive point for the Sister Savior is the role that the church as an institution plays in understanding sexuality. Historically, African American religious bodies have been foundational institutions in the broader Black community through their political activism, social services, and the establishment of both community and familial values (Baer and Jones 1992). It is estimated that 90 percent of church-going African Americans belong to Black-controlled religious organizations (Baer and Jones 1992). Thus, the influence of these institutions on behavioral socialization, in particular sexual behavior, is heavily influenced by the patriarchal structures and belief systems embedded within these institutions.

The Sister Savior script decrees that sex is to be avoided because of the moral issues it poses within a religious context. Sexuality is

not viewed as simply an act, but evidenced through body language, clothing, and general behaviors. Sister Saviors project a demure, obedient attitude, particularly toward men. For example, there are still churches that require women to cover their legs with a blanket when sitting in a pew so they will not distract men (Brown-Douglas 1999). Public humiliation during church services to socially control sexually active and potentially sexually active adolescent females has been well documented in African American narratives, including therapist case studies, fiction, and the news (e.g., Burnett Smith 1997; Firestone 2001; Naylor 1998; Wyatt 1997).

Many also may remember that self-identified Black Muslim Shahrazad Ali gained nationwide attention with her 1990 book "The Black Woman's Guide to Understanding the Black Man," which advocated the slapping of women by men when the women got out of line. Underlying Ali's patriarchal ideas were her religious beliefs and interpretations of African history. More recently, an African American church in Atlanta came under fire when former members accused the church's leader, the Rev. Arthur Allen, of forcing fourteen-year-old girls to marry much older men before they became pregnant or began having sex (Firestone 2001). As Allen explained, it was better in his opinion for young teenagers to be married than to become "whores." One former church member stated that Allen routinely urged women to denigrate themselves in front of the congregation by graphically recounting sexual acts before entering the church (Judd and Young Miller 2001). Another accused the preacher of whipping sexually active teenaged girls during church services after the removal of their skirts or dresses (Firestone 2001).

While this was a highly publicized and extreme case, it does illustrate the African American religious institutions' foundation in a tradition of patriarchy that reinforces its messages and expectations by placing women in submissive and oppressed positions (Brown Douglas 1999; Grant 1992; Hoover 1993). The biblical image of Eve as sexual temptress is extended to all women and is central to interpretations of the bible that are still carried through in church teachings. This has a tremendous impact on the development of sexual scripts for Sister Saviors, as patriarchal interpreta-

tions of God's word are the only legitimated source of information about human sexuality.

Unfortunately, Sister Saviors have not had these religious doctrines related to concerns of pubertal development, modern day social pressures, risky contexts, or general sexual health concerns (Brown Douglas 1999). Many ministers avoid any discussion of sexuality, despite the clear needs in the African American community to address issues such as AIDS or adolescent pregnancy (Dyson 2001). Chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. Claud Young, said that many ministers are reluctant to talk about AIDS, and many have asked him not to use the word condom inside the church (Meckler 1998). Despite such resistance, former Surgeon General Dr. David Satcher urged African American church leaders to mobilize around human sexuality and address these concerns in light of the AIDS epidemic ravaging the Black community (Public Health Service 1998; Mekler 1998).

Still, church leaders continue to avoid discussions about sexuality, unless they are framed within a traditional biblical context. As a result, Sister Saviors are not provided with the critical tools and skills needed to develop their sexual identity or explore themselves as sexual beings. Sexual decision-making information is often framed using fear tactics, not a holistic understanding (Brown Douglas 1999; Wyatt 1997). While it is true that African American adolescent females are less likely to approve of sexual permissiveness and are more likely to delay onset of first coitus if they attend church regularly (Cullari and Miksu 1990; Stephens et al. 2001), religious institutions' traditional ideas about human sexuality and patriarchal perspectives also foster feelings of guilt and shame about sexuality (Brown Douglas 1999; Murray 1978; Reuther 1975). It has also been found that those sexually active African American adolescent women who exhibit high levels of religiosity are less likely to use protection against pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, are more likely to have significantly older partners, and tend not to have the nexus of control over their sexual experiences (Stephens et al. 2001). By practicing whatever is preached from the pulpit, without allowing room for self-reflection, Sister Saviors do not base their decisions from a site of empowerment.

Earth Mother

The Earth Mother script has a more developed sense of self and sexual identity than the Sister Savior script. Furthermore, unlike the Sister Savior, the Earth Mother does have a vocal and visual presence in Hip Hop culture. Lauryn Hill, Macy Grey, Jill Scott, Angie Stone, India Arie, and Erika Badu all project the Earth Mother sexual script. Their Afrocentric political and spiritual consciousness is obviously part of their everyday discourse and worldview, as expressed through the clothing they wear, the hairstyles they select, their general demeanor, and the lyrical content of their songs. They embrace the naturalness of their hair by choosing not to use chemicals, instead wearing dreadlocks, afros, or other alternative styles. The Earth Mother celebrates the diversity of body sizes, natural hair textures, and skin colors. Traditional views of beauty are openly challenged using an Afrocentric framework. As the politically and socially conscious Lauryn Hill sang "It's silly when girls sell their souls because it's in—look at what you be in, hair weaves like Europeans, fake nails done by Koreans" in "Doo Wop (That Thing)" (1998).

While respected and described as attractive, the Earth Mother's consciousness takes her out of the sexual context that exists within Hip Hop culture. Her ability to understand the link between the spiritual, emotional, and physical is frightening to those with a more materialistic orientation. She has developed a strong sense of self and expects the same from those close to her. This is often intimidating to others, particularly men. "Brothers tend to be intimidated and think that [the Earth Mother] is on that spiritual thing and wonder how they're going to keep up," explained one male discussing women in the African American dating scene (Amber 2001: 148). The Earth Mother cuts through the games, sexism, and potentially hurtful outcomes that are central in the other scripts available to African American adolescents. Stated one identified Earth Mother in the same article, "If a man doesn't know who to step to with some knowledge and strength, then I do not want him" (Amber 2001: 148). Erika Badu, known for her Afrocentric head wraps and flowing robes, read her man in "Call Tyrone" (1997) when she

told her man to get his stuff out of her house since he wasn't adding anything to her life financially, intellectually, and most importantly, emotionally. Similarly, dread-headed artist India Arie sang about her own self-acceptance despite the scripts that are continuously thrown out for adolescent African American women to emulate in her song "Video" (2001):

> I'm not the average girl from your video,
> And I ain't built like a supermodel.
> But, I learned to love myself unconditionally
> because I am a queen.
> I'm not the average girl from your video.
> My worth is not determined by the price of my clothes,
> No matter what I'm wearing I will always be India Arie.

Drawing from a heightened political awareness about the exploitation of Black people within the African Diaspora, the Earth Mother also rejects exploitation based on sex and gender. This projection of self-empowerment outside of mainstream and Hip Hop cultural script expectations alienates her from her peers in a unique way. This kind of self-assurance, self-esteem, and level of racial identity development during adolescence is rare. Thus, the Earth Mother's partners are often those males who do the same, i.e., who also are not representative of the assumed norms among African American adolescent males. Most adolescents are learning to negotiate their sexual selves and rely on the sexual scripts to guide what models are acceptable for fitting in with their peers. Earth Mothers reject this and, as such, are alienated as potential partners for mainstream members of Hip Hop culture.

Baby Mama

The final script is the Baby Mama, because she is viewed as a potential outcome for any of the preceding scripts. Divas, Gold Diggers, Freaks, Dykes, Gangster Bitches, Sister Saviors, and Earth Mothers can easily move into this role—purposefully or by accident. In the same vein, this all-encompassing script incorporates all

four foundational Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Mother, and Matriarch images. For African American adolescent women, the Baby Mama script is enacted once a child is born. Single motherhood in the African American community is not viewed as abnormal or pathological and, in many cases, is presented as a glorified and respected role (Hill Collins 2000; Staples 1994; Lindsey 1970). Becoming a mother is commonly seen as the primary symbol of an African American girl entering womanhood (Luker 1996; Wolf 1997). Pregnant or parenting adolescent teens are often given a lot of positive attention and are fawned over by adults and peers alike (Bale, Stephens, and Fogarty 2002). Research has also shown that having a child is considered a status symbol, or a notch on the belt among certain groups of African American males (Bale, Stephens, and Fogarty 2002 and Stephens 1999; McCall 1994). Men's sexual prowess, as well as their ability to manipulate women, is given concrete evidence via the birth of the child. This may have an impact on why the Baby Mama script is pervasive and widely accepted. African American women in the United States have the highest rates of adolescent pregnancy in the industrialized world (Ventura 1999)—a fact probably not coincidental to the robustness of this script.

In some cases, the Baby Mama script acknowledges a bond with the father of the child, which can be powerful and important. In some cases, the Baby Mama is seen as the "bonafide" (read: primary) female in the male's life (Bale, Stephens, and Fogarty 2002; McCall 1994). Having a child for the male is sometimes evidence of her love for her partner. "It means you care," explained one pregnant teen (Wyatt 1997: 131). Further, a man may have brief sexual relationships with other women, but he always comes home to his Baby Mama. A male is assumed to always have sexual access to his Baby Mama, whatever his or her relationship status. However, this same right of entry is not extended to the female. Rather, her identity as his Baby Mama is dependent on how the male values their relationship. But to maintain this connection it means taking on the good and (more often) the bad of her man. Speaking about her own babies' fathers and their violence towards her, rapper Mia X exemplified the unconditional acceptance or love Baby Mamas are often expected to retain with their child's father:

> And you have to hide black eyes and things like that because you know your uncles or cousins will come and do somethin' [to the baby's father]. And you're at a point where you know that you're in love wit' this person but you know what they're doin' isn't right, and your askin' yourself, 'Do I want him to get killed?'… By me havin' a son, I never want to be the cause of somebody's dyin'. (Alvarez 2000)

Evidently, while the relationship between a mother and her son is often revered, the son does not always extend the same respect to his own child's mother (Alvarez 2000). The title Baby Mama aptly and wholly describes the female's role. It doesn't matter why she has sex or what the context of the encounter was—she is basically the mother of a male's baby and nothing more; the relationship between the male and female is based solely on that link. This view of motherhood is completely different when compared to males' opinion of their own mother. Although they may praise the hard work and sacrifices that their own mothers have made, many males do not extend the same praise to the mother of their children (Hill Collins 2000). This attitude reflects a popular belief that the Baby Mama script is based in the idea that the girl purposely got pregnant so that she could maintain a relationship, take the man's money, or keep a part of him. This idea of being trapped and entrapped is well known and frequently recounted. It is not uncommon for the female to be accused of plotting and lying by claiming she is pregnant for her target male when she isn't, or when the child isn't really his. "That baby's supposed to look like me—girl, youse a lie, now who's them eyes?", asked the Lunitiks in "My Baby Mama" (1997). The Baby Mama is assumed to desire the male so much she will sacrifice all other life plans, even if it means being unethical, to have his baby. In reality, over 80 percent of teenage pregnancies in the United States are unintended (CDC 2000; Curtin and Martin 2000), and abortions are significantly on the rise among African American adolescents (Bachtel and Boatright 1999; CDC 1998, 2000).

A Critique of the Contexts

As in the case of the Jezebel, Mammy, Welfare Mother, and Matriarch images, the sexual scripts available to adolescent Afri-

can American women today are interrelated. Women can move between scripts depending on the contexts they are in, or can mix them together. How a young woman projects herself at a nightclub may be different when compared to her behavior at a basketball game, church social, or on a first date. As well, she may also choose or need to not use the scripts; if she feels comfortable with herself, her sexuality, and her context, young women may not need the predictability of the sexual script behaviors to interact with males or make sense of herself. Thus, the scripts may change depending on context, and may be enacted depending on the reactions she receives. In the end, however, although women do have the choice of enacting any of these scripts, the final decision on how successful she was at doing this is out of her hands. Males and non-African Americans looking in categorize adolescent African American females based on their interpretations of the available scripts. These scripts are not simply behaviors, but are part of a larger life perspective and ongoing behaviors that develop through practice. As young women come to experience these scripts and learn more about themselves in these roles, their deployment of them becomes more skilled when needed.

Most artists are especially aware of the gender specificity and behavioral expectations of the scripts outlined above. Explains Missy Elliott:

> Guys pretty much can be in some jeans and say whatever they want to say. We're the real trendsetters. You have a lot of young female teenagers who look up to you and want to be sassy like we are. (Chappell 2001: 70)

The everyday usage of these scripts has a direct impact on young African American women's sexual self-concept, behaviors, and experiences. Others' attitudes and beliefs about their identity, and how African American adolescent women negotiate this, has a direct impact on their sexual decision-making processes. Their understanding of the power associated with their sexuality and the devaluing of their physical appearance, intellectual prowess, and emotional value has clearly impacted the sexual identity development and health experiences of this population (Marriott 2000; Burford and Farley 1999; Wyatt 1997). Critiquing this trend within

Hip Hop's racially- defined youth messaging processes is important, as research shows that peers begin to have an even greater influence during puberty and adolescence (Woodarski et al. 1996). By participating in Hip Hop culture, adolescents are able to satisfy their needs for acceptance and yet be different from the adults in their life (Sosnowitz 1995). Unfortunately, many are provided with sexual scripts without having a strong sense of their sexual selves, and rely on the level of peer acceptance around them to gauge their behaviors.

Moreover, these dialogues are based in the physicality, not sensuality or an understanding of sexuality in a positive framework (Washington 1995). Often those who appear sexually liberated are "completely estranged from their erotic powers" (hooks 1993: 115). There are very few spaces where this aspect of sexuality is discussed; African American women are inundated with messages of how to have sex, with whom to have sex, and where to have sex. But few have heard sex and emotional pleasure discussed in the same breath (Cleage 1996). Instead of linking intimacy and pleasure as extensions of the basic biology lessons, the essential qualities of erotica are ignored in the available scripts. Erotica is "an assertion of the life force of women, of that creative energy empowered, the knowledge and use of which we are now reclaiming in our language, our history, our dancing, our loving, our work, our lives" (Lorde 1984: 55).

These factors influence the existence of unhealthy female/male African American adolescents' interpersonal dynamics. Sex is portrayed as a sporting event, whereby the object is for males to score and females to block the shot. Sex is an important symbol of local social status; sex is a weapon and conquests become a means of measuring success both inside and outside the private sphere (Anderson 1995: 179). The fact that these sexual scripts are framed through a male lens is important to examine as they have a great impact on females' sexual self-concept, sense of self-esteem, and identity development. The traditions of Hip Hop are embedded in a male culture; it is a space that was developed and initially controlled by men (Smitherman 1977). Women's entrance was not readily accepted and still requires negotiation with their male cohort's be-

liefs, values, and attitudes toward women. For example, males' interpretations of women's physical appearance, including body language and dress, is an important part of mate selection and relationship quality (Landolt, Lalumiere, and Quinsey 1995; Lundy, Tan, and Cunningham 1998; Schooler and Wieling 2000). For women entering adolescence and learning to negotiate what it means to be a sexual being, the influence of self-approval versus male desires and expectations will be important for determining the sexual script they choose to follow (Washington 1995). As a result, African American adolescent females select from scripts reflecting male perspectives, sexual desires, and expectations. Even among those artists who attempt to challenge sexist or verbally abusive messages about women, there is an idealization of the patriarchal, nuclear family structure where the empowerment of women or gender equality is not totally advocated (Ransby and Matthews 1995).

Thus, the true nexus of control, meaning, and power around females' sexuality is mediated through a patriarchal framework that includes sexism and both the physical and emotional abuse of women. African American cultural critic bell hooks has pointed out that Hip Hop culture's messages do not promote healthy intimate interactions. "As much as I enjoy hip-hop, I feel there is not enough rap out there embracing and affirming love that is about communication and accountability," she noted (Jones 1995: 190). Particularly in the current materialism and commercialism of this society, appearance and external approval become more important than how African American women actually feel inside (Villarosa 1994: 461). Essentially, the selected script becomes a tool for navigating intimate relationships, and a scale by which women gauge their sexual selves. Unfortunately, African American adolescent women are left with the frustrating choice of rejecting these scripts in favor of themselves or rejecting themselves in favor of the scripts (Botta 2000).

Conclusion

It is clear that the centrality of sexuality in the identity development of African American women continues to be evident, in the

same way it had with the Jezebel, Mammy, Matriarch, and Welfare Mother images. Further, the current sexual scripts that exist have powerful negative undertones that continue to reinforce the foundational stereotypical images. The pervasiveness of today's Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother, and Baby Mama scripts in both African American and mainstream American culture reinforce the lenses through which the everyday experiences and ideals for adolescent African American women are viewed. Beyond presenting visual representations for categorizing these women into stereotypical identities, these scripts provide a guideline for sexual behaviors and expectations for both the young women and those with whom they interact.

The future implications of these scripts are problematic. As the sexual explicitness of these scripts continues to increase, the need for greater stimuli will result as African American adolescent females and males become numb to the current representations (Zillman 2000). Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, Davies, Hook, and Oh (2001) found that African American females who viewed films with high levels of sexual content were approximately twice as likely to have multiple sex partners, more frequent sex, not use contraception during last intercourse, and have a strong desire to conceive. Further, there was some association between watching X-rated movies and an increase in the likelihood of having negative attitudes toward using condoms and testing positive for chlamydia (Wingood et al. 2001). There is also a growing link between the pornography industry and Hip Hop culture as exemplified through music videos and highly-publicized social relationships between those in the pornography and Hip Hop industries (Morales 1997). With the feminine form regarded as such a prime source of inspiration and recreation in a male dominated hip hop world, it was inevitable that rappers would indulge committing their extreme sexual exploits to film (Baker 2001: 50). Videos for such songs as Tu Pac's "How Do U Want It" (1996), and "Put 'Em on Glass" (1996) by Sir Mix-a-Lot scored record-breaking rotation on the Box, as well as censorship on MTV due to their soft porn approach, complete with numerous female adult industry stars of African descent. Luke Campbell, already known for his triple X-rated live

stage performances with his group 2 Live Crew, has several porn videos available for fans, and hosts the adult cable program "Luke's Freak Show." Rapper/record label owner Master P has gained notoriety from his independently produced "Master P Ice Cream Party" series. Most recently, rapper Snoop Dogg, who both produced and appears in "Snoop Dogg's Doggy Style," earned two trophies at the 2002 Adult Video News Awards.

Clearly, the fact that sexuality is so central in African American women's scripts within their youth culture is particularly problematic. Sexuality remains a commodity within this paradigm, where it is projected as the most powerful instrument that adolescent African American women have for negotiating interpersonal relationships and daily discourses in American society. This continuing physical, emotional, and verbal assault from their potential partners, Hip Hop culture, and broader society reinforces the importance of dismantling the frameworks upon which these sexual scripts are supported.

This does not mean that these scripts and ideas are to be tossed out the window. Rather, critiquing these scripts is central framing research seeking to understand adolescent African American women's sexual development, sexual risk-taking influences, and self-esteem development. This process of understanding must include those who use the terminologies and those to whom they are applied. The development of these scripts has a strong foundation within the African American community and needs to be studied within this arena. From this space, these scripts must be "re-written" in ways that challenge the racist and sexist, socially-constructed realities projected on African American adolescent women, moving them from being viewed as merely sexual objects. This requires recognizing that this issue is not simply about what the scripts are saying, but more importantly how sexuality is so central to projecting ideas of who African American adolescent women are and what they are capable of.

Finally, these scripts must reflect adolescent African American women's own world understanding, fit into their daily realities, and fulfill their personal needs. This means that the rewriting of these scripts must center and validate African American adolescent

women's voices. These scripts cannot simply reflect male desires, whereby rap artists either reenact patriarchal beliefs and attitudes, or seduce women into exploiting their own bodies to manipulate male power (hampton 2001). Female African American adolescents must lead this action-based approach which occurs on the individual, interpersonal, and institutional levels, so that a sense of personal power combined with an ability to affect others will lead to social institutional changes taking place (Gutierrez 1990: 150). Only then can sociohistorical developmental changes in the creation and maintenance of African American female sexual scripts truly begin.

Notes

1. As late as the early 1990's, the cast of Sarah's body, actual skeleton, preserved brain, and wax mold of her genitalia were on display in Paris' Museum of Man (Giddings 1995; Gould 1985; Lindfors 1983). They are now kept within the museums private archive collections (Fausto-Sterling 1995). Currently, there are legal attempts being made by the Hottentot tribes to reclaim and provide her body with a proper burial.
2. The Sapphire image must also be noted as another foil that was used to describe the Mammy when she was with her own family. The Sapphire image depicted a strident, domineering, emasculating woman who "wore the pants," thus insinuating inverted gender roles in the African American family. This image became the prelude to the Matriarch image.
3. President Ronald Reagan's economic policies created a national atmosphere of "every man for himself," whereby the rich became richer, and the poor became poorer as social services and other supports were dismantled (De Genova 1995).
4. Only those women who organize their own "gangs" form strong same-sex relationships. Labeled as Tomboys, these women are usually seen as Dykes, as they act like men but don't allow them to control their actions (Campbell 1991). Other girl gangs are simply female chapters of the male gang, and exist as women brought together out of a willingness to be loyal to their male peers. Most Gangster Bitches exhibit gang culture behaviors but generally act independently (hampton 2000).

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